BANNING THE H-BOMB BY JULES MOCH

THE Nation

May 15, 1954
20¢

Ben Shahn

WILL JOE BOLT THE G.O.P.?

By Edgar Kemler

Ray Jenkins

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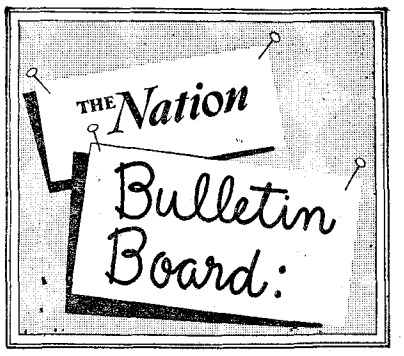

BEN SHAHN, the distinguished American artist whose sketches of the principal figures in the army-vs.-McCarthy hearings appear in this issue, was once the subject of a full-dress study by Selden Rodman, called "Portrait of the Artist as an American." Shahn lives far from the madding crowd—Roosevelt, New Jersey, population 900—and loves it. The convenience which he most enjoys *not* having is a television set. This posed a minor problem for him when he undertook to make these drawings. He finally decided, he says, to "impose" upon one of his neighbors. After spending several days watching the hearings he came up with the cover portrait of committee counsel Ray Jenkins and the sketches which accompany Edgar Kemler's account of the hearings.

OUR REVIEW COPY of "My Mission to Spain," the forthcoming book by former Ambassador Claude G. Bowers, will be a much-traveled volume by the time the review reaches us. Thomas J. Hamilton, diplomatic correspondent of the New York *Times,* who is writing the review, took the book along with him when he left New York to cover the Geneva conference for his paper.

MORE LAURELS for Contributing Editor Bruce Catton for "A Stillness at Appomatox," final volume of his trilogy on the Army of the Potomac. Earlier this year Catton received the Gold Medal for Non-Fiction, the highest award of the American book industry. This month he was awarded the Pulitzer Prize. A busy gentleman, Catton. Last month Little, Brown published his short study of "U. S. Grant and the American Military Tradition," which the *Times* called "a work of art.."

FROM WRITER Kay Boyle's son-in-law, a teacher in France, comes the following note: "I often quote *The Nation* in my conversations with my colleagues, first as a too often ignored American point of view, and second, simply because it presents such a sympathetically reasonable one." MARTIN SOLOW

Letters

The Fresno Affair . . .

Dear Sirs: I was an observer at the Fresno Democratic pre-primary convention discussed by Carey McWilliams in a recent issue. . . . In the sense that amateurs did the voting it could be said that they took over the convention. Actually their leaders, or I should say the leaders of the winning side, were experienced politicians of the state machine headed by George Miller, Jr., one of those anomalous liberals who appear to be without any deep convictions.

The gubernatorial candidate, Richard Graves, was picked—one might almost say dug up—by Mr. Miller without regard to the very considerable qualifications and claims of Laurence Cross, a long-time Democrat, twice elected mayor of Republican Berkeley, who had been campaigning nine months for the nomination. . . . Mr. Graves's selection seemed to be the result of a feeling in higher Democratic circles that if you can't win with a Democrat, try a Republican. Also that you must have a man who can finance his own campaign. . . . Mr. Graves had been a Republican only four days prior to filing for the nomination and was reported to have money, although no one could agree as to where he got it. Some say the liquor interests. Mayor Cross's supporters properly made much of the fact that Graves, switching his party allegiance depending on the party in power, had been a Democrat only six years, and had been a Republican, or "declined to state," the rest of the time. . . .

At the beginning of World War II, Mr. Graves sent a telegram to Washington urging the removal of the Japanese Americans from the coast. In fairness to him, it should be mentioned that he also recommended that in no case should they be deprived of their property. When queried on how he stood on McCarthyism and Robert Condon, he replied, "Do you want me to commit political suicide?" This last shows the influence of George Miller (termed the hero of the convention by Mr. McWilliams) who is urging Democratic candidates to stay away from these issues, preferring to exploit the depression issue. Mayor Cross, on the other hand, as a member of the City Council and the Berkeley School Board, voted to let Robeson sing in the high-school auditorium and to allow Rosenberg petition tables to be set up on Berkeley streets. . . . Is it better for the party to win—if it does win—with Graves, a dyed-in-the-wool conservative and opportunist, or to lose with an advocate of principle like Cross?

Berkeley, Cal. JOHN M. JENCKS

. . . And a Reply

While I fully share Mr. Jenck's enthusiasm for Mayor Laurence Cross of Berkeley, I cannot accept his rather harsh conclusions about the Fresno conference, or about George Miller, Jr., and Richard Graves. During the many years that I have observed it, the Democratic Party in California has been cursed by an absurd division between purists and politicos. Always quick to impugn the motives of the politicos, the purists have acted as though they really thought that campaigns could be run without organization or funds. On the other hand, the politicos have consistently erred in discounting the value of rank-and-file participation and the importance of issues and ideas. It is time that this division was ended. California Democrats are lucky to have this year such fine candidates as Richard Graves and Edward Roybal for the key offices of Governor and Lieutenant Governor. It is, of course, unfortunate that they could not induce Robert M. Hutchins or Dewey Anderson or Peter Odegard to run for the Senate. But I doubt that the real responsibility for this state of affairs rests with George Miller, Jr., who, if not a "hero," qualifies as one of the best organizers the party has turned up in years. Having served in the last Democratic administration in California, I feel sure the state party could profit from *some* degree of organization.

CAREY MCWILLIAMS

CORRECTION

In our editorial Disarmament Standstill, in the issue of April 17, mention was made of a disarmament conference held in New York on March 26, 1954. This Conference on World Disarmament and Development was not sponsored, as we implied, by the Committee for World Development and World Disarmament but by certain individuals. Listed as "Contributing Organizations" were: American Association for the United Nations, American Friends Service Committee, American Veterans Committee, Church Peace Union, Citizens Conference on International Economic Union, Committee for World Development and World Disarmament, Friends Committee on National Legislation, Friends Peace Committee, National Council of Jewish Women, National Federation of Temple Sisterhoods, Peace Fellowship of Presbyterians, Post War World Council, United Church Women, Women's International League for Peace and Freedom, Brethren Service Commission. Not all these organizations sponsored the Senate resolution referred to in the editorial.

EDITORS THE NATION

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Volume 178, Number 20
New York, Saturday, May 15, 1954

THE Nation
EVERY WEEK SINCE 1865

EDITORIALS

The Shape of Things

Vote of Half-Confidence

The Laniel government, in winning postponement of parliamentary debate on Indo-China until after Geneva, was helped considerably by the fact that Dienbienphu was on the verge of falling when the vote was taken. Even so, M. Laniel only half-succeeded in avoiding a debate: extensive explanations accompanied the casting of many of the ballots. The Gaullists and the Radicals, both in the government coalition, said enough to indicate they were supporting the resolution only because they did not want to see the government and the fortress falling together.

The government won by 311 to 262; the abstentions curtailed the "yes" votes to 3 short of an absolute majority. Of the 262 opposition ballots, 106 were presumably Socialist, 96 Communist, and 3 Progressive. That means at least 57 opposition votes were cast by members of parties represented in the coalition. Many of the abventions must also be reckoned as basically "no" votes. The results justified the comment of a leading Paris daily: "Here was a vote of confidence without confidence." They also constituted, in effect, a warning to the government not to play the diplomatic game at Geneva to the point of endangering an Indo-China settlement. Several delegates expressed the fear that elements in the French delegation at Geneva were hoping that the Western compromise proposal for a "protected armistice" would be wrecked by unreasonable Communist demands, so that there could be a return to a "policy of strength." The mood of the Assembly, including many deputies who voted for Laniel, was decidedly against such dangerous thinking. Dienbienphu's fall has plunged France into gloom but has apparently heightened its desire to end the war.

The Rewards of Intransigence

The agreement between the United States and Iraq whereby Iraq "consents" to receive an unconditional grant of arms from the United States is a striking example of the perverse and shortsighted policy we are following in the Middle East. Since last October the Security Council, with the American delegate participating, has been exclusively concerned with Middle East tensions, which have erupted into violence on Arab-Israel borders and which threaten the armistice agreements. Now the State Department is providing explosives for further explosions.

Henceforth Arab resistance to a settlement of the Palestine war is bound to increase. Why should Arab representatives listen to American pleas for moderation in the Security Council when the State Department rewards intransigence with arms?

Obviously the agreement is intended to soften up Iraq and to assure its adherence to the Turkish-Pakistan mutual assistance pact linked to NATO. With the spotlight focused on Iraq, Egyptian resistance to a settlement with the British would presumably break down and the way be paved for a more comprehensive Middle East Command. The latter, of course, is based on our concept that security can be achieved by the encirclement of the Soviet Union by a chain of military bases.

But is not security linked to stability? The outstanding facts of life in the Middle East are political instability, grinding poverty, and rising revolt of a hungry people. Arms granted at this stage to Iraq, or to any other Arab government, invites the danger of their use either against the indigenous populations, which are on the threshold of rebellion, or against Israel. In the long run, it is bound to be a self-defeating gesture, conducive neither to goodwill on the part of the Arab people toward the West nor to security.

The Quality of Mercy

In commuting the death sentence which had been imposed on Wesley Robert Wells, Governor Goodwin J. Knight relieved the apprehensions of a great many Californians. The case was clearly one which merited executive clemency (see the comments of Willard Harper, *The Nation,* February 27, 1954). To the end, however, the Governor kept insisting that "abnormal pressures exerted by certain extremist factions" accounted for his reluctance to show mercy in a case in which mercy was obviously merited. Yet had he acted sooner, the Wells case need never have become a cause célèbre. If left-wing elements first called the public's and the

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The Nation, May 15, 1954. Volume 178, No. 20

The Nation, published weekly and copyright, 1954, in the U. S. A. by The Nation Associates, Inc., 333 Sixth Avenue, New York 14, N. Y. Entered as second-class matter, December 13, 1879, at the Post Office of New York, N. Y., under the act of March 3, 1879. Advertising and Circulation Representatives for Continental Europe: Publicitas.

Subscription Prices: Domestic—One year $7; Two years $12; Three years $17. Additional postage per year: Foreign and Canadian $1.

Change of Address: Three weeks' notice is required for change of address, which cannot be made without the old address as well as the new.

Information to Libraries: The Nation is indexed in Readers' Guide to Periodical Literature, Book Review Digest, Index to Labor Articles, Public Affairs Information Service, Dramatic Index.

Governor's attention to the case, the fact reflects not on them but on those who continued to ignore its implications. The longer these elements held back, the more the movement for clemency grew in volume and insistence. In the final weeks, almost everyone—Walter Winchell included—was urging the Governor to commute the sentence. Had this not happened, the Wells case would have become another American tragedy in the unfortunate pattern of the Trenton Six, Willie McGee and Martinsville Seven cases.

The real "extremists" in situations of this kind are those who, while acknowledging the merits of a case, refuse to urge commutation or other appropriate action simply because it might enable some group or organization that they dislike to claim credit for having prevented an act of injustice. It is the denial of justice, however, that breeds political extremism and creates situations which political extremists can exploit to their advantage. The main issue in the Wells case was not who launched the agitation and why, but how to prevent a cruel and senseless execution. Now that this has been done, the people should act to prevent another Wells case from arising by clearing out the jungle of confusion and technicalities which brought about the strange snafu of sentencing a man to death for having thrown a cuspidor at a prison guard who was only slightly injured.

Victory for a United People

Most of the earth's remaining colonies lie between Cancer and Capricorn, which is a good enough reason why the revolutionary winds seem to be blowing hottest along the equatorial corridor. Unrest and rebellion in Central Africa, the abortive Jagan victory in British Guiana, and the war in Indo-China all have their origins in the desire of subject nations for independence. No different, even though on a tiny scale, is the recent triumph of the People's United Party in the crown colony of British Honduras. Here a small people, taking advantage of their first opportunity to vote under a new constitution, overwhelmingly supported an anti-colonial party, giving it a majority in the area's first parliament.

During the campaign the British governor, the British Colonial Office, and the conservative opposition within the colony attempted to smear the P. U. P. as Communist. The truth is quite different. British Honduras—Central Americans prefer the name Belize—is one of the most poverty-stricken areas in the New World. Its chief products have been chicle and mahogany; American chewing-gum manufacturers, by turning increasingly to substitutes, have nearly destroyed the chicle market, and mahogany exports have fallen 50 per cent in the last five years. Hunger, a yearning for independence, and a desire for social justice engendered by a deep but primitive Catholicism—114 of the 117 primary schools in the

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country are Jesuit—are the motivating factors of the P. U. P. Its alleged Moscow orientation can perhaps best be judged by the fact that at their annual convention last year the P. U. P. delegates emerged from a solemn high mass to approve a resolution simultaneously condemning communism and colonialism.

No immediate radical changes are expected as a result of the election. Under the constitution granted by the British the legislature has only limited power. Moreover Leigh L. Richardson, the chairman of the P. U. P., undoubtedly influenced by the unpleasant things which happened in British Guiana, has announced that he is prepared to "cooperate with the present [British] administration along progressive lines." But over the long haul the outlook for the British is not good. It is always dangerous to give a subject people the trappings of democracy unless, sooner or later, you are prepared to give them the substance.

Peace, Politics, and the Monsoon

EVER since Secretary Dulles suffered defeat at Geneva the Administration's policy has been enveloped in a cloud of ambiguities. They are of its own making. Having tried and failed to rally the British for a last-hour attempt to relieve the French garrison at Dienbienphu, having tried and failed also to put together a military alliance to prevent a Communist victory in Indo-China, Mr. Dulles is now off on a different tack. Accepting perforce Britain's firm refusal to join an alliance keyed to war while the Geneva conferees attempt to hammer out a settlement, Mr. Dulles has come up with a new idea. Assuming a truce, he has won British collaboration in an alliance whose ostensible purpose will be to "guarantee" the truce once it is signed. And in further deference to the views of Mr. Eden, the plan no longer provides for a group limited to interested Western and tame Asian powers. It will take in, if it can get them, states such as Ceylon, Pakistan, and Burma—and if the British have their way, India and Indonesia as well. The whole thing looks less frightening, less belligerent. It seems on the surface to rule out an Asian NATO and the threat of intervention. In fact, just after Mr. Dulles's return last week, Secretary of Defense Wilson remarked that while intervention was "still a possibility" he didn't see how a decision could very well be made at this time. One has only to recall the frantic warnings from Washington that if Dienbienphu fell all would be lost, to realize how fantastic have been the gyrations in American policy—or is it strategy?—since Mr. Dulles made his hasty flight to London and Paris to demand immediate "united action" to save Indo-China.

What forced this apparent retreat? The first thing of course was Churchill's unwillingness to plunge with us into a conflict whose only exit might be at the other end of a thermonuclear war. A certain sober caution buttressed by awareness of popular alarm, Labor's threatening opposition, and the sure resentment of the Asian nations of the Commonwealth fortified the Prime Minister against the assault of Dulles and Radford.

BUT other elements were also important. Nothing Dulles can offer could now induce France to struggle on indefinitely toward unlikely victory in a war of annihilation. In spite of the tragic heroism of Dienbienphu, the French after seven years have no stomach for fighting to defend a country they have promised to give up and peoples who regard France as rather more of a menace than communism.

Then there is the attitude of the Asian nations—something the Administration has previously viewed with amazing indifference. After unanimously recommending an immediate truce in Indo-China, the Colombo conference called upon all the countries concerned, "particularly [Peking] China, the United Kingdom, and the U. S. S. R., to agree on steps necessary to prevent resumption of hostilities." As for Asian security, the five Premiers announced their unshakable determination "to resist interference in the affairs of their countries by external Communist, anti-Communist, or other agencies . . ."—a warning to the Chinese and Vietminh, no doubt, but also to any anti-Communist alliance that might be fabricated in Geneva or Washington. Mr. Dulles must now realize that he cannot create any long-range regional-security system that ignores the independent nations of Asia, India in particular. This was brought home by Mr. Nehru at the end of the conference when he said, "We [Asian countries] are jealous of our freedom, and while we wish to cooperate with all countries of the world and live in friendship with them, attempts at interference must produce resentment and conflict and come in the way of the friendly relations we desire." And when he reached Madras he added that the Colombo meeting proved that "decisions in regard to Asia should not be taken by others without reference to the Asian nations." The Western countries, he said, are intimately concerned with peace "but they must recognize that we are equally concerned with these matters, in fact a little more concerned when they relate to Asia." An Asian replica of NATO would never gain the support of the major free Asian countries. Even an apparently more pacific grouping, formed to help maintain a truce, would probably be regarded with suspicion. But it is the only sort of alliance that stands the smallest chance of acceptance in Asia, and this fact must have had some influence in producing Mr. Dulles's last shift.

In his radio-television report to the nation on May 7 the Secretary of State did his best to synthesize the twists

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and turns into a coherent policy. The result was like a double or triple exposure: through each superimposed image appeared the blurred outline of the one behind it. So that Mr. Dulles's plan for a truce-policing alliance free from interventionist commitments came out looking more like his previous scheme of an alliance for the defense of all Southeast Asia—even to the warning that war might be necessary. Details are still lacking, but it is significant that the conference of representatives of Britain, France, Australia, New Zealand, and the United States, called this week to plot the steps to be taken to enforce a cease-fire, if there is one, may be transformed into a conference to decide how to halt Communist advance if no cease-fire is to be had. This, according to State Department officials, could mean "military intervention to save the Tonkin delta." Where are we now? At the start of still another switch?

As the editors of this journal pointed out last week, we see neither security nor hope of peace in a primarily military approach to the problem of Communist advance and nationalist revolution in Asia. We believe such an approach, by itself, spells more conflict and ultimate total atomic war. The crumbling of French strength in Indo-China has without question narrowed the choice there to risky alternatives, for no one can doubt that Ho Chi-minh and the Communist powers behind him will squeeze all possible advantage out of their superior position both in the field and at Geneva. As the week began, the Vietminh army had already overwhelmed two French posts in the Red River Delta area. Bargaining for a cease-fire in these circumstances will not be easy.

BUT the only sane choice still remains a determined effort by the West to get a cease-fire, arrange an armistice, and then hammer out a political settlement, making use of the machinery of the United Nations at the earliest possible moment, as was done in the case of Indonesia. If this effort is put in the forefront, with plans for "united action" kept in reserve and threats of "massive retaliation" ruled out altogether, the chance of winning acceptable terms from the politically minded Communists will be far better than if Mr. Dulles continues to wave the bloody flag. For only a peace policy based on Nehru's strategy of patient negotiation can possibly produce the kind of unity that will impress the Soviet bloc—a unity that embraces free Asia, the nationalists of Indo-China and Malaya, the war-sick people of France, the Labor opposition in Britain and most of the British people, and even the now unrepresented masses of Americans who voted Eisenhower into office because he promised to end the fighting in Korea.

It is not likely that Mr. Dulles thinks of united action in these terms, nor, if he did, would he find it easy to initiate such a policy with the Knowlands and Radfords clamoring for military solutions. But events themselves may induce a more realistic "reappraisal" of the situation by the Republican Administration. Essentially this country does not want war. A noticeable mood of caution swept over Congress when it began to look as if our threat of intervention in Indo-China was serious. The period ahead, between now and the elections, is also the monsoon period in Indo-China. The enforced lull of several months in the fighting offers an opportunity to bring the war to a halt. It gives Mr. Dulles a chance to test out more soberly the feeling of the people and of our allies before he tries to establish peace-by-force in Southeast Asia. Meanwhile we urge our readers to call to the attention of members of Congress and of the Administration the plan for Asian peace proposed in the last issue of *The Nation*.

The British "Veto"

BY J. ALVAREZ DEL VAYO

United Nations

SINCE the beginning of the Geneva crisis the Western allies have been blaming one another for their failure to appear at the conference as a solid, cohesive, harmonious coalition. In this country most of the blame falls upon Great Britain. A world accustomed to hearing its ills blamed on the Soviet "veto"—inside or outside the U. N.—now hears the Republican floor leader of the United States Senate angrily berating the "veto" of the British, which, he says, frustrated the attempt to form, on the eve of Geneva, an Asiatic NATO. Many other American politicians, as well as columnists and commentators, have joined Senator Knowland in denouncing London as the birthplace of an "Asian Munich." It is appropriate, therefore, to examine the motivations which led London to block the drift toward another Korean adventure which it considered even more susceptible of degenerating into a global conflict.

At the core is Britain's reluctance to follow a path so far removed from its traditions. While but one-third the size of the United States in population and resources, Britain none the less remains a great power in world affairs; indeed, thanks to its stubborn habit of adhering to realities, its international influence is sometimes greater than America's. The British by nature dislike loud talk, and experience has taught them that a policy of intimidation avails little with revolutionary regimes accustomed to hardships and to threats. With respect to Secretary Dulles's demand for "united action" and his implied threat of retaliation outside Indo-China unless the Communists withdrew support from Ho Chi-minh, the British proved right in their calculation. The threat frightened, not America's enemies, but its friends. It took Churchill's assurances that his government had not entered "any new political or military commitments in regard to Indo-China" to calm public opinion in Britain

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and throughout Western Europe. During last week's heated debate in the French Parliament, London was repeatedly praised for having saved the peace.

There were other motives for Britain's cautious handling of the Indo-China crisis. On April 25, twenty-four hours before the Geneva sessions opened, Churchill called his Cabinet together and, with his army, navy, and air-force chiefs present, discussed what the country could do in a military way to help France avert disaster in Vietnam. According to all reliable reports, the conclusion reached was that Britain was in no position to enter a conflict which could at any moment bring the country into a major war with Communist China. The British statesmen were reported amazed that the Eisenhower Administration should ask its allies to take such a risk when Eisenhower himself was facing a Congress predominantly hostile to sending American troops to Indo-China. The sober-minded military experts were critical of what they termed the lack of realism in the American assessment of the world military situation. If there was ever a moment when a "policy of strength" had a chance in Asia, they think, it was in 1951, when General MacArthur wanted to plunge ahead without regard to the dangers of war with China and Russia. The propitious moment, it is considered, has long since passed as a consequence of the equilibrium in atomic power which has been achieved by the United States and the Soviet Union.

It was, then, militarily an impossibility for the British to enter the Indo-China war. It would also have been a political blunder of the first magnitude, both internally and with respect to the Commonwealth. The British economy, as Mr. Butler's last budget made very clear, is in no position to undergo the strain of such a conflict. As to the Commonwealth, British intuition was proved correct by the Colombo conference, where five Asian nations foregathered shortly after the opening of the Geneva talks. Despite differences in their appraisal of the dangers of Communist expansion, the five attending prime ministers were unanimous in rejecting military intervention in Indo-China, in favoring an immediate cease-fire there, and in demanding China's admission to the United Nations. The British press treated the Colombo meeting quite differently than did the American. Wrote the London *Times:* "These are Asian matters and the five Asian countries represented at Colombo had the plain duty of helping forward the kind of settlement that Asia wants."

Britain still has immense interests in the Far East. There is no doubt that its resolution to preserve them from Communist hands is at least equal to the United States'. But once these interests have been brought to a conference table for discussion, the British believe in discussing them. They prefer to use Geneva for finding solutions rather than for planning what to do if Geneva fails. Their advance in atomic weapons—and particularly the announcement that they can produce a better and cheaper H-bomb than the Americans—has strengthened their confidence but has not made them lose their heads.

The British must be deriving great satisfaction from the fact that Anthony Eden has taken over the leadership of the Big Three at Geneva. From all indications American policy is based on the hope that Russia, which up to now has certainly been winning at the conference, will in the end throw away its victory by demanding too much. But the British are not counting on a victory by default; they are playing the game in a positive and constructive spirit. They are determined to do what they can to make Geneva a success. The Churchill government considers this to be both in the national interest and in the interest of partisan politics. The Laborites are waiting to pounce upon any Churchillian error in foreign policy. Aneurin Bevan has been adroitly using anti-American sentiment both in Western Europe and in Britain to promote his thesis that it is time for Britain and the Commonwealth to form a military and economic bloc independent of the United States. Such a bloc, he insists, could get along with Russia. There is no doubt that in the last few weeks the Bevanites have been gaining ground.

AFTER Dulles's threatening talk at Geneva the British were relieved by Eisenhower's advocacy of a "modus vivendi" with communism at his April 29 press conference. But the relief was short-lived. Almost immediately upon Dulles's return to the American capital, reports from Washington stressed that "on Indo-China the American course is the same as in past weeks." It does not add to Britain's peace of mind that the Secretary's intimates are saying that he is not bluffing. He still feels that his proposed Asiatic NATO would suffice to force Russia and China into "peaceful" retreat. And he continues to acknowledge that since his policy is based on speculation, preparations must go forward for a possible war.

According to reports, the Dulles adherents calculate that if his policy of half-threat, half-action is carried out, the prospects for war would be about fifty-fifty. But there are those in the Administration who find the Dulles policy too moderate. Men like Vice-President Nixon and Senator Knowland are reported to be opposed to any "new look" policy in Asia. They want direct armed intervention, as in Korea, but this time linked with the bombing of the Chinese mainland if necessary.

In view of these currents and cross-currents in Washington, London has decided to act more cautiously than ever despite the increasing violence of American criticism.

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BANNING THE H-BOMB

A Feasible Program . . . *by Jules Moch*

Paris

THE resumption of negotiations on disarmament at the U. N. may be an important event if the initiative of the three Western powers is inspired—as it certainly is in the case of France—by a genuine desire to get results and not by a mere wish to make anti-Soviet propaganda. The international situation has changed in certain important respects since the U. N. Disarmament Commission interrupted its work in June, 1952. An armistice has been signed in Korea; Soviet foreign policy has taken a new turn or at least adopted a new tone; and the Big Four have met for direct talks, yesterday at Berlin, today, in more numerous company, at Geneva.

As regards disarmament itself, I repeated at the U. N. General Assembly in November, 1953, a conciliatory proposal which I made, in the name of France, before the Disarmament Commission in June, 1952. On the later occasion I added the suggestion for a restricted committee—I had in mind the Big Four and Canada, all members of the Disarmament Commission—which would deliberate in private in the manner of the Big Four committee (consisting of Messrs. Jessup, Selwyn Lloyd, and Vishinsky and myself) which met in Paris in November, 1951, and inaugurated some useful work.

There was also President Eisenhower's speech of December 8, 1953, which represented some progress in that it went beyond the Baruch plan. As long as America firmly adhered to the Baruch plan, negotiations could hardly be resumed, for the Soviet Union had definitely rejected it. It had also been rendered practically obsolete by the advances in atomic science in the eight years since it was put forward. Finally, there were the H-bomb explosions—by both sides, it would seem. This last development was of course the most important. The emotion aroused all over the world —and given vigorous expression in the British Parliament—by the injuries to the Japanese fishermen was the sign of a universal fear which may further the cause of peace.

PERHAPS the potentialities of the H-bomb and the fact that the two main antagonists acquired it within a few months of each other open the way to seeking conciliation on a new ground. It is not unlikely that before long nobody will dare to continue experiments with the H-bomb. From this it is but a step to the prohibition of its use, which would be the first move toward disarmament. It seems to me, though this is a purely personal opinion, that a distinction might be drawn in disarmament negotiations between A-bombs and H-bombs. The West would accept an immediate and unconditional ban on the H-bomb, in accordance with Soviet demands; the Russians would agree to put the A-bomb under some such provisional control as was proposed by France. The distinction offers no technical difficulties. Scientists thousands of miles away are able to determine several days afterward whether an A- or an H-bomb was exploded.

Something must be done and done in a hurry. Three countries have the bombs. If their production and use are not prohibited soon, other countries may decide to make them. France, apparently the world's fourth atomic power, is devoting its first functioning piles to pacific purposes and intends to do the same with the more powerful ones now under construction. I hope it will not decide to enter an atomic armament race, and spend the vast sums required for the transformation of plutonium on new means of destruction instead of for scientific, industrial, and medical progress. But what France does not want to do, others may be tempted to do.

The U. N. will have before it for consideration two old plans for atomic control and two more recent ones. The latest suggestions have been made by the United States and France. President Eisenhower has proposed the formation of an international atomic pool which would have a monopoly of atomic materials for the uses of peace. In the beginning the manufacture and eventual use of atomic bombs by the different states would not be prohibited.

The French proposal, which has so far only been outlined and not worked out in detail, would bring about disarmament in three stages. In the second stage international inspectors would be installed in all plants producing fissionable materials. For the time being these plants would stop work in order to give the inspectors a chance to learn the methods and capacity of each and also to stabilize the existing stocks of bombs. I need not point out that it is easier to make sure production has stopped than to control the destination of the finished article. In the third stage the atomic factories, internationally controlled but not internationalized, would resume production, but only for pacific purposes. Then, after non-atomic armaments had been reduced, also under international inspection, to previously agreed levels, the stocks of bombs would be destroyed and all fissionable material diverted to pacific purposes.

These two recent proposals are by no means incompatible. The older plans were in sharp opposition. The U. N. or Baruch plan demanded international ownership and control of all mines and factories of fissionable material. The Russians demanded that the manufacture and use of atomic bombs be unconditionally prohibited before any other disarmament measure was undertaken. The prohibition would not, however, be operative until a permanent system of control had been set up. So far the Russians have refused to commit themselves on the exact nature of the control.

JULES MOCH, a leading Socialist deputy and a former Minister of Defense, is now French representative on the U. N. Disarmament Commission.

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Can the new plans be reconciled with the often reaffirmed position of Russia? Yes, if everybody is sincerely interested in obtaining disarmament and if at the same time the principal questions under dispute—Germany, Austria, the war in Indo-China, the status of Mao's China, the European Defense Community—can be settled. Disarmament will never be realized in the abstract. It is directly linked to the settlement of international differences. The general international distrust, rather than the will to aggression of any single government, is the greatest danger to peace today. Controlled disarmament presupposes a minimum of trust.

I cannot insist too strongly that we must achieve disarmament rapidly. All mankind, even the people of the most powerful states, is endangered by the atomic-arms race. No country today can hope to be protected by a radar network, however complete, or by fighting planes, however numerous. Nor can any country derive comfort from the relative weakness of the enemy as regards heavy bombers. Research on radio-guided missiles which are attracted or, so to speak, swallowed by their objectives is making rapid progress in all the Big Four countries and perhaps elsewhere. These monstrously perfected V-2's already rise to heights of several hundred kilometers. When they reach a height of 900 their trajectory will be 12,500 miles. Thus a mad dictator will be able to launch a rocket-borne H-bomb against a target anywhere on earth without risking the life of a single aviator. Even if the bomb is diverted from its objective, it will drop somewhere else and kill people for hundreds of miles around.

Yet even the "push-button war" now in course of preparation will be nothing as compared with a bacteriological attack carried out by radio-guided missiles. I am talking of a real army of bacteria, not of the infected flies and poisoned meat imagined by the Chinese and North Koreans.

The dilemma of tomorrow is this: either men, that is, their governments, will finally see reason, or victory will go to the lunatic who first launches his missile.

WILL JOE BOLT THE G.O.P.?

Ike Would Be Delighted . . . *by Edgar Kemler*

Washington

IN THE first twelve days of the army-McCarthy hearings Joe has had things his way most of the time. But if he ever gets cornered, if his infallibility on Communists-in-government is ever seriously in question, it is believed here that he will take a walk. In other words, he will find some specious pretext for suspending the hearings. Using his powers as chairman of the full Committee on Government Operations, powers that he still holds, he may then find some way to reorganize the subcommittee with himself reinstated as chairman and resume his probes of the army. He hinted as much when the Nixon plan for revoking his right of cross-examination was discussed. When Senator Mundt was asked about it he replied hopelessly, "You can't make a Senator do anything."

A few days ago only a handful of experts here would subscribe to this prediction. But since the McCarthy-Brownell fracas over the disclosure of McCarthy's purported F. B. I. letter, this prediction is gaining credence, and further details are being added to it. McCarthy's non-recognition of Stevens as Secretary of the Army—the Senator keeps referring to him as a mere "Pentagon politician"—is developing into non-recognition of the Eisenhower Administration as the legitimate government of the United States. This suggests that Joe will walk not only out of the hearing room but out of the G. O. P.

Senator Mundt

Insiders say that the Administration now regards this as a serious possibility and that Ike, if not his Middle West supporters, would be glad to see him go. Is it altogether coincidence that such speculation should arise just when Colonel McCormick gathered with some old friends in Chicago to launch his For America movement, looking toward a third party? McCarthy, who admitted he knew about the Colonel's plans in advance, is reported to have indorsed them, saying: "I think it would be very healthy sometime to get a realignment of parties so there would be no extreme right or left wing in either the Republican or Democratic Party." At least Joe will have somewhere to go if he bolts the Republicans.

On Friday, Brownell indicated that publication of the "hot" F. B. I. letter would be "unauthorized use of confidential information." McCarthy pointed out rightly that Brownell's publication of the Harry Dexter White reports was also unauthorized, but he wrongly implied that two wrongs make a right.

This transfer of the drama to a larger stage underscores a significant fact—the inability of the subcommittee so

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far to cope with the Senator. Time and again it has looked as if Joe would hang himself on one of his own gimmicks; each time he has ducked out. Take the famous cropped photograph as an example—the group picture of Stevens, Schine, and a Colonel Bradley which was cut down so that it seemed to be a photograph of just Stevens and Schine. After a prolonged check-up on

Francis P. Carr

McCarthy's strange crew of assistants, the blame for the cropping was finally pinned on his man Juliana. But Juliana insisted that his motives were innocent, and his associates could not recall ever having heard anything about the incident. This innocence and loss of memory on the part of the McCarthy staff —and of McCarthy himself later when testifying on another gimmick, the F. B. I. letter—called for further questioning. But suddenly we were off again, investigating why the army allegedly coddled Reds, which in turn brought us to the question why Stevens actually coddled McCarthy.

WHEN McCarthy entered this marathon, he was already visibly slipping. The Gallup Poll of early April showed that his firm followers were only 17 per cent of the voters as compared with 21 per cent last January, and that he was definitely obnoxious to 43 per cent as compared with 26 per cent earlier. In contrast to his telegram campaign against Eisenhower some months ago, he has released no figures on his recent fan mail. It is known, however, that most of his mail and telegrams come from crackpots who justify the favors for Schine under the Republican regime as a fair exchange for the military preferment of Elliott Roosevelt under F. D. R.'s regime. McCarthy lost his respectability on the day he declared General Zwicker unfit to wear a uniform.

Yet despite his declining box-office McCarthy is as much feared by his fellow-Senators as he was six months ago. Theodore Granik, the TV impresario, has tentatively booked him for the American Forum of the Air on May 16. But after a week's search for a Democratic Senator to debate with McCarthy, Granik has not found one. Even the distinguished Senator Sparkman is known to have passed up the invitation, which could conceivably be an opportunity for giving McCarthy the coup de grâce. Joe, of course, is aware of his offensiveness and uses it as a technique for dominating the hearings. He has accused the three Democrats of making too many speeches, the pro-McCarthy Republicans of being against him, and has hinted that all of them must take the stand before he does, since he claims they are all involved with him in some of the charges or counter-charges.

Why are the Senators afraid? Formerly it was because of McCarthy's demonstrated influence with the voters; now, apparently, it is more because of his having access to the F. B. I. files and, even more important, the Internal Revenue files. (It is noteworthy that he spent the week-end with T. Coleman Andrews, Commissioner of Internal Revenue, shortly before he charged Struve Hensel with tax frauds.) His access to these files is of course wholly illegal, being contrary to Executive orders, and its unholy nature was effectively dramatized by army counsel Welch on Tuesday when he refused to read McCarthy's secret F. B. I. letter. This was the letter allegedly sent in 1951 by J. Edgar Hoover to General Bolling, then assistant chief of army intelligence. Welch has persistently questioned McCarthy as to "how in the dickens he got hold of it." McCarthy so far has refused to reveal his source either on the stand or off. He has tacitly admitted violating the law and has defended his action by saying that any law could be violated in the search for concealed Communists. This extraordinary statement, perhaps the most blatant assertion of legislative tyranny ever uttered, was more or less seconded by Chairman Mundt when he told Welch that "investigative agencies in this town . . . do not have to disclose the source of their information." Under Brownell's ruling, however, Mundt has refused to have the letter inserted into the record.

THE elfish army counsel is by long odds the most appealing figure who has emerged here. Yet one wonders just how effective his rapier thrusts are against Joe's unprincipled demagoguery. At one point McCarthy slyly made it appear that Welch, not himself, was the obstructionist in the marathon. Earlier Welch had said that if McCarthy would take the stand after Secretary Stevens, the army would either waive all other witnesses or at most call two more. Between that night and the following (Tuesday) morning McCarthy's most ardent supporter, Dirksen, removed the qualifying clause from the proposal and got McCarthy to consent to it. Dirksen knew of course, as did McCarthy, that Welch could not tolerate this distortion. Yet when Welch turned it down on Tuesday morning, Dirksen charged him with "changing his mind" and McCarthy charged him with "bad faith." Again the subcommittee as a whole refused to clarify the record. When Welch asked one or all of them to come to his aid, he was completely ignored.

In sum, there has yet to appear on this stage anyone as vigorous and daring in championing the truth as McCarthy is in championing falsehood, and until such a man appears, it has been suggested, the army will continue to fare worse than McCarthy. Certainly Secretary Stevens cannot be described in those terms. As a private citizen he is honest and decent enough, but as a public official, like most of the others on the Eisenhower team, he is simply not equipped to cope with McCarthy or McCarthyism. Even his boss, Defense Secretary Wilson, seems to be disgusted with him. This was indicated by Wilson's recent refusal to comment on the hearings and his denial that he had ever ordered Stevens to cooperate with McCarthy.

A woman reporter described Secretary Stevens vis-à-vis McCarthy at Fort Monmouth as "Little Lord Fauntleroy trying to reform a Dead End kid." And when

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Stevens

McCarthy

Sketches on this and the two preceding pages by

Ben Shahn

Cohn

Welch

Schine

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she went to bed that night, she says, she got nightmares thinking about it. In a previous report I wrote that there was rough justice in the way this operation had backfired. In the Middle Ages the English used to say that God sent plagues, comets, lice, and Frenchmen to punish them for their sins. Clearly, Joe McCarthy is in the same category—a kind of scourge to punish us for going off half-cocked on the Communist issue. No doubt Mr. Stevens now regrets his collaboration with McCarthy the man, but he has still not recanted on the 'ism. According to the April 25 report of the Federation of American Scientists, McCarthy's Fort Monmouth hearings were followed by a barrage of charges directed by the army security people against army technical personnel at Fort Monmouth. McCarthyism, according to the report, still persists there. If this is true, then Secretary Stevens is building up more trouble for himself.

SCRAMBLE FOR AIR TIME

Who Should Get What? . . . *by C. A. Siepmann*

FAIR play in controversy is not easily contrived. We shall never get it if we go chasing the wrong hare, which is what, in broadcasting, we seem to be doing. The hare in question was started by Congress when it wrote the Communications Act in 1934. Section 315 provides that "if any licensee shall permit any person who is a legally qualified candidate for any public office to use a broadcasting station, he shall afford *equal opportunities* to all other candidates for that office. . . . *No obligation is hereby imposed upon any licensee to allow the use of its station by any such candidate.*"

When it comes to practice, this well-intentioned ruling has two flaws. It seems, in its last sentence, to say that at election times—and, by extension, at all times when controversy arises—the licensee need not lend his facilities for the airing of controversial questions at all. The Federal Communications Commission, however, put this to rights in the "Blue Book," which insists that every licensee has an affirmative responsibility at all times to provide reasonable time for controversial questions of high moment to the people.

In the second place, this section overlooks the fact that broadcasters are not in business for their health. Time on the air costs money. "Free" time, in any considerable amount, is something that most stations cannot afford to bestow. It is this fact which in practice has undermined Congress's intention to make sure that all candidates for office get "equal opportunity." For by asking a stiff price for the use of air time, stations have in effect prevented all but the two major political parties from getting themselves heard or seen at all.

But the worst damage done by Section 315 is that it seems to claim "fair play" is assured by the provision of "equal time" for parties to a controversy. At election times, which fortunately come and go, such a provision—barring the "toll" exacted by the broadcasters—may conceivably provide the "rough justice" which is perhaps all that can be looked for. But for the handling of controversy in normal times the precedent is fatal.

WITH the steady deterioration in the good manners of communication since World War II, the "equal time" theory has proved more and more unworkable. To give a man "equal time" to counter arguments against him is inherently absurd. Seven lines of unscrupulous abuse may warrant 700 lines of reply, as 700 ill-considered lines may warrant a one-word reply—"Nuts!" What, then, would be fair? The question is a complicated one, and the time has come for a full airing of the difficulties. I suggest that we shall not get to first base without reconsideration of the rights and the responsibilities involved. Who has what rights and who should have what responsibility?

For a start I suggest that no one has a "right" to broadcast. You or I may properly request air time, or even offer to buy time, but we cannot claim it. Not even the President of the United States has such a right. The reason is obvious. With anyone and everyone claiming the right, there would be no air time.

You and I are likewise limited in our rights in another matter. An inventor can patent his invention. He has a proprietary interest in it, acknowledged alike by custom and by law. But no patent rights attach to ideas or to opinions. An idea or an opinion, once expressed, becomes public property, and its author at that moment ceases to be in any recognizable sense its proprietor. Anyone can pick it up, use it, exchange it, modify it. What else is meant by the "free market place of thought"? The only way we can maintain proprietary rights in an idea is to keep it to ourselves.

A logical extension of this view makes public property—so far as comment and discussion go—not only of opinions but of public acts. This is particularly true of the acts of public officers—of the people's representatives. Thus the public record of a politician, like his opinions, is open to public scrutiny and comment. His private life and private acts are not—and with rare exceptions should not be.

Now this, in the context of our discussion, has an important consequence. It means that if an idea we have propounded is used in any of the ways just mentioned, we have no "right" to claim air time to answer back. The same

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thing holds for the public acts of public representatives—for two reasons: (1) An opinion or a public act which is open to dispute constitutes in itself the first round of controversy. The gauntlet has been flung down, awaiting the challenger to pick it up. If we challenge the challenger to another round, the series of exchanges has no end; this is to make a phoenix out of controversy and to extend its life for ever. (2) In the second place, since we have no patent right to an idea, it can be contested and/or defended by others. It may be appropriate for us to be invited to defend the idea, but we cannot claim it as a right. In the market place of thought it is the idea, not the vendor, that is up for sale.

The failure of networks and stations to grasp this point has occasioned much of our present confusion and perplexity. Senator McCarthy, adept at spotting the Achilles heel of others, has been quick to make personal capital out of it. For he above all other public men has succeeded in selling the "proprietary theory" of ideas. Let any man mention his name on the air and the station quickly receives his claim for "equal time" to answer back, whereas the sole public interest involved—with respect to any of his acts or opinions—is that they be discussed pro and con, but in no case, as of necessity or as of right, by him.

BUT IF none of us have rights to air time, who, then, is the responsible concessionaire? On grounds of common sense and under the law the answer is unequivocally clear. It is the broadcast licensee, the station owner. (The F. C. C. has spelled it out: "It is the licensee who . . . must select . . . the question of public interest to be considered, *as well as the person or persons* . . . to discuss or debate the issues chosen as topics for consideration.") His is both the right and the duty. Were right alone involved, his license to broadcast would not be conditional and temporary. Few listeners, even today, know that a station owner must every three years seek renewal of his license from the F. C. C. And fewer still know why. It is in order that his service to the public interest may be reviewed and weighed. Failure in the full exercise of this duty means forfeiture or only temporary renewal of his license. First and last, then, it is the licensee who in matters of day-to-day decision has the responsibility for the free flow of ideas, for varied and balanced program fare, and for the maintenance of the good manners of communication. The F. C. C. may neither censor nor interfere from day to day. Its function is over-all overview.

The word censor arouses the darkest fears. But let us not be frightened by a word. The plain fact is that in broadcasting we both have and need a censor —in the sense of someone who shall determine, "in the public interest," both the content and the tone of what we hear and see over the air. Every station owner is in fact such a censor, positively as he selects what programs we shall hear and see, negatively as he rejects or omits programs. Much of our present trouble stems from the fact that few stations exercise this responsibility with sufficient courage and discretion. But the price of power is responsibility. Modern inventions have enormously extended the power of the few over the

Fitzpatrick in the St. Louis *Post-Dispatch*

many. There is no safety for our society without a comparable extension of the sense of responsibility.

The general principles of fair play in controversy were laid down long since by the F. C. C. But the F. C. C. cannot and should not spell out their application in specific cases. Beyond broad principles we need some ground rules, which it should be the business of the stations to propound. Our main trouble is the absence of such ground rules. Without them, there is danger of a progressive deterioration of the good manners of communication, as men like McCarthy exploit the broadcaster's indecision. Things, for instance, have reached a pretty pass when, according to John Crosby, the reason given for letting McCarthy answer five minutes or so of criticism by Harry Truman with thirty minutes of far-ranging and irrelevant comment and innuendo, at the expense of persons not involved, was that "McCarthy has scare value, and we are scared." This hardly represents the responsibility that goes with power.

THERE is also danger that public discontent at the abuse of air time may result in pressure on the F. C. C. to prescribe, beyond general principles, how stations shall handle day-to-day decisions. This would be most undesirable, and is quite unnecessary if broadcasters, recognizing that they are not only business men but guardians of the public interest, will decide such matters by themselves. No one pretends that these decisions are easy, as no one in his right mind would claim that any book of rules could cover each and every situation that arises. Wide discretionary latitude is paramount. But while admitting the obvious exceptions, it seems as if the following ground rules would go a long way way to clear up the present drift to anarchy.

Rule 1. In matters of controversy debated on the air the broadcast licensee alone shall decide who shall be parties to the discussion. No individual's "right" to broadcast is to be countenanced.

Rule 2. Participants in broadcast controversy shall be confined to discussion of the matters at-issue. Irrelevant excursions on their part shall be ruthlessly blue-penciled. (This is merely a common-sense extension of a recognized practice. If a speaker is invited to broadcast on bird song and then submits a manuscript on bees, his manuscript will be rejected. Intrusion into controversy of impertinent matter is objectionable in precisely the same sense.)

Rule 3. Personal abuse or innuendo, or indeed any attack on the good faith, the motives, or the character of individuals, is out of place in broadcast con-

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troversy—for two reasons. In public discussion it is ideas, opinions, or points of view that are essentially at issue. Loathsome as is much about the character and past conduct of Senator McCarthy to many persons, it is his point of view, his public statements, and his public acts that are properly to be contested. Moreover, such fearful and sometimes irreparable damage can be done to the good name of an individual through the range of broadcasts and the prestige attached to them that special protection of his interests is proper. Only two parties are served by personal recrimination and veiled slander—the peddlers of such unsavory stuff and the diseased minds that revel in it.

IT MAY help to suggest how observance of these ground rules would have worked out in reference to some recent controversial broadcasts.

Harry Truman would have been kept to answering the charges made by Attorney General Brownell. His passage on McCarthyism would have been blue-penciled. Had this happened, McCarthy would not have had the opportunity to reply. And even if the passage had been pertinent, McCarthy's reply would have been heavily blue-penciled in reference to the spate of impertinences it contained, including all the personal references to Dean Acheson, Owen Lattimore, *et al.*

Edward Murrow's broadcast on "See It Now" would have stood as fair comment on the record of a public representative—including the invitation to McCarthy to reply. This invitation, however, would have been discretionary. Some other competent person, disagreeing with Murrow's analysis, would have been equally admissible.

On Fulton Lewis's program McCarthy's association of Murrow with Moscow University, his veiled allusion to Murrow as an "extreme left-wing bleeding heart," and much else of the same low order of debate would have been excised.

Stevenson's broadcast would have required no reply. Government policy, by its very formulation, constitutes the gauntlet thrown down for any challenger to pick up. Time for a reply by the Republican Party was a discretionary decision by the networks, appropriate enough but in no sense mandatory.

If it is argued that adherence to such ground rules is more than we can look for from licensees, that they have neither the intelligence nor the courage to apply them, the sensible rejoinder seems to be, "Then throw the rascals out." Responsibility is the condition of their privileged position. The F. C. C.'s prime function is to insure the exercise of such responsibility—and also to clamp down on any arbitrary or capricious use of such discretionary judgment.

If again it be argued that the F. C. C. has shown a remarkable lack of zeal in holding licensees to their pledges and their manifest duties, the answer is, "More's the pity." The solution is not a supine surrender to the "facts of life." This is the defeatist stuff of which fascism is bred. The solution is to appoint to the F. C. C. men of courage and a sense of public duty and to give them a program-research staff adequate for policing the air waves. In broadcasting as elsewhere, America can ill afford weak heads and faint hearts in positions of high public responsibility. The alternative to drive is drift, and in this atomic age we know where drift will take us.

KEYSTONE OF UNITY

The Rich Little Saar . . *by Terence Prittie*

Bonn

THE great ideal of European unity is still far below the horizon, and the Saar, even more than Berlin or Trieste, is at present blocking its progress toward visibility. All planning for Europe depends on a solution for the Saar. Failing acceptance of its version of a "Europeanized" Saar, France will not ratify the European Defense Community. Failing such ratification, the European army, with German contingents, cannot come into being. The breakdown of E. D. C. will shake confidence in other moves toward unity, such as the Council of Europe and the Coal and Steel Community.

It is this aspect of the deadlock over the Saar which is worrying Western statesmen most at the moment. But the Saar also presents a more serious threat. Until its future has been worked out, there can be no Franco-German understanding. This does not mean simply that there can be no European army. It means there can be no peace or progress in Western Europe whether or not the Germans are rearmed.

Franco-German negotiations over the Saar broke down more than a year ago. German efforts to get them under way again were repulsed by the Quai d'Orsay. The initiative passed to a group in the Council of Europe, and one of these men, the Dutch delegate, Goes van Naters, drew up a plan which both Chancellor Adenauer and Foreign Secretary Bidault accepted two months ago as a basis for fresh talks. The "van Naters plan" foresees a "Europeanized Saar," with its own government but with a "European High Commissioner" looking after its foreign affairs and defense. This arrangement would be confirmed by a plebiscite and guaranteed by France, America, and Britain. Trade with Germany would be increased, but the existing Franco-Saar customs and currency union would continue in force.

Last month Prime Minister Hoffmann of the Saar gave me four reasons why he believed the great majority of the 900,000 Saarlanders would accept the

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van Naters plan. The first was that the economic union with France has brought a stability to the Saar which had been lacking for twenty years. Economically, the Saar "grew up" with Lorraine, for when industrialization got fairly under way in this part of Europe both of them belonged to Germany. In 1919 Lorraine was restored to France, and the Saar was put under the control of the League of Nations. The close economic connection remained, however, and the French franc was still accepted as currency in the Saar.

In 1935, 90 per cent of the Saarlanders voted to return to Germany. Culturally and in speech and thought they had always been Germans. This famous *Heim ins Reich* vote broke the tie between Lorraine iron and Saar coal—and the Saar lives from its coal mines. A Socialist member of the Saar Parliament described the result to me: "Our infant consumer-goods industries had to compete on the German market with well-established rivals. Prussian managers took over control of our mines and steel plants. Before long the Third Reich had to declare us a distressed area."

The Third Reich did more than this. It deported part of the population to other parts of Germany. It drove the great fortifications of the Siegfried Line slap through the middle of the province. It refused to develop the Saar's principal coal reserves because these lay in front of the Siegfried Line. It fought a scorched-earth retreat through the Saar which left its main city, Saarbrücken, in ruins. So much for Hitler's boast in 1935: "In ten years' time you Saarlanders will not be able to recognize your country."

"Economics," Hoffman told me, "argue for the French connection." This brought him to his second reason for favoring the van Naters plan. Saarbrücken would become the capital of Europe. This grimy and provincial city of 110,000 inhabitants would be transformed, and his government is already drawing the blueprints of the new capital.

In the third place, trade with Germany would be increased as the European "common market" was created. At present the German market would be no substitute for that of France and the French colonial empire. For finished goods and coal France can give the Saar food; Germany cannot. And the Saar—the most thickly populated section of Europe—produces only 15 per cent of its own food.

Finally, the van Naters plan appeals to Hoffmann because it assumes that the three great powers guaranteeing the "European Statute" would undertake to have it written into a final German peace treaty. "This means," he said, "a final settlement. Heaven knows we need one! A final settlement would fit us to attract foreign investment and to become good neighbors of both France and Germany."

So far the Prime Minister has made only a modest start toward the kind of cosmopolitan Saar which he envisions. He has helped found a bilingual "international" university; he has transformed Saarbrücken's shop windows by importing French taste for color and French wares; he has introduced cloaks and batons for the Saar's policemen. And while doing this he has retained popular approval for the idea of a Saar detached from Germany and allied to France. At the last Saar election, eighteen months ago, roughly 65 per cent of the people voted for the "official" Christian People's and Socialist parties which support this idea. Even Dr. Heinrich Schneider, leader of the pro-German opposition, admits that a European Statute agreed to by France and Germany would be approved by 90 per cent of the Saar electorate.

WHEN the van Naters plan was announced, Dr. Adenauer quickly declared that he was ready to make concessions to the French point of view. On his way to Athens in March he stopped off in Paris for talks with Georges Bidault. He resumed his journey in a glum frame of mind. M. Bidault had indicated that France accepted the van Naters plan only as a basis for discussion and that further French demands must be considered. Dr. Adenauer knew that he could never get an amalgam of the ideas of van Naters and Bidault through the federal Parliament in Bonn.

The Germans attack the van Naters plan on three main grounds. The first is economic: the Saar's economy, they claim, is suffering as a result of the economic union with France. Just one fact need be cited in reply: orders for Saar steel are 20 per cent above those for the same period last year, although steel production and demand within the Schuman Plan community have been declining.

The second objection is a legalistic one. An official in the federal Ministry for All-German Affairs recently pointed out to me that the Saar has never been part of the Federal Republic, having been detached from the rest of Germany by France in 1946, and that therefore the federal government cannot "sign it away." The Western powers, moreover, have stipulated that no future united Germany will be bound by treaties entered into by the present East or West Germany. This makes a "final" settlement for the Saar impossible. Signing away the Saar, too, would give the Russians legal arguments in defense of their seizure of the German provinces east of the Oder-Neisse line. Dr. Adenauer's own party has now decided that a final settlement of the Saar must wait on a German peace treaty.

The third German objection is the most operative: there is still no political freedom in the Saar. The "Democratic Party" of Dr. Schneider has been banned, and the Christian Democratic and Social Democratic pro-German groups have not been given permission to function, although their applications are two years old. Some newspapers are permanently banned, and big fines are imposed for smuggling in copies printed in Germany. Private mail is censored. The van Naters plan provides that full political freedom shall be granted for only one year before the plebiscite on the European Statute.

At the moment neither the Germans nor the French seem prepared to give way one inch, and apart from van Naters's somewhat Jesuitical suggestions they are getting no guidance. British and American opinion is frankly uninformed. Yet a real compromise is possible. Political freedom should be reestablished in the Saar. The economic union with France should be preserved until something better is devised—which means a fully integrated European community. Any temporary solution agreed on should not be reversed unless it breaks down. The plain fact is that France and Germany must learn to get along with each other, and the Saar should not be allowed to be an eternal bone of contention.

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BOOKS

Nietzsche in the Nursery

SEDUCTION OF THE INNOCENT. By Frederic Wertham. Rinehart and Company. $4.

By Ward Moore

THE Pacific Fleet Command has banned the sale of most war comic books in ship's stores on the ground that they are too gory for the American sailor." Parents who have paid little attention to Junior's tattered, cherished collection of comic books may raise a puzzled eye. What's wrong with the comics? They themselves remember "Krazy Kat" fondly.

The comic books banned by the navy and avidly read by the children have only the most tenuous historical connection with the familiar newspaper strips. In Dr. Wertham's seven-year study he found most parents, teachers, legislators, and judges ignorant of what is inside the gaudy covers. They too take it for granted that comic books are only extended comic strips.

For convenience, the study can be usefully divided into three parts: an investigation of the contents of comic books, their effect on specific children, and the author's recommendations as a result of his findings. Each should be examined separately.

Comic books deal in one basic commodity, violence, whether they are war comics, crime comics, Western, "classic," science fiction, "super," or even the presumably harmless "rabbit" comics which kids won't trade because they are too tame but which are actually introductions to more sophisticated forms of brutality. Death or the threat of death, savagery, sadism, masochism, torture, mayhem, rape, lynching, and flagellation are the subjects treated—at length and in careful detail. The illicit, comparatively rare pornographic booklets—forgeries of well-known newspaper strips, not comic books—do not titillate the jaded *veilleurs* of four to fourteen because they deal only in customary sexual relations, voluntary ones, devoid of the thrills of rape and necrophilia, mutilation, or other reminders of Krafft-Ebing, without the appeal, so potent in pre-puberty and early adolescence, of homosexuality.

Many comic books teach fascistic dependence on a single superhuman hero who alone can rescue the mass from dilemmas by the exercise of might which they, as individuals or in combination, cannot attain. Others glorify the informer, the collaborator, the prototypical strike-breaker. Still others are racially slanted, not merely against "natives" or the darker-skinned peoples or villainous Orientals, but in extolling superior "blond beasts."

The comic-book industry, a big one—ninety million comic books are printed every month on about a third of the pulp paper used in the United States—and so interlocked with paper mills and respectable magazines that it can coerce outlets doubtful about handling its products, influence legislation, and scare off well-meaning crusaders, retorts that it deals in violence only to show that "crime does not pay." Dr. Wertham answers,

> In the first place, this is not true. In comic books crime usually does pay, and pay very well, until the last picture or two. The crimes are glamorous; the end is dull. Frequently the ratio of "crime" to "does not pay" is as high as fifty to one. More important, the slogan "Crime does not pay" is *not* moral, but highly immoral . . . Great harm has been done by teaching children . . . that they should not hit girls (as comic-book figures so often do) *because it doesn't pay!* I have seen many children who were confused by this vicious crime-comic-book morality. The reason why one does not hit girls, even if comics have made it so attractive, is that it is cowardly and that it hurts them.

The comic-book makers' excuse is so flimsy that not only children and psychiatrists but even parents can see through it on cursory inspection. Retribution is as savage as the acts leading to it; the thrills from witnessing them are indistinguishable. However, the cop who kills the mobster is a minor figure; usually the hoodlum goes out by suicide in a Wagnerian finale, like the late *Reichskanzler*. Repentance is an unknown weakness in comic books, like affection between parents and children, or desire between men and women without the zests of sadism.

TO DISPUTE Dr. Wertham on the contents of comic books is simply to refuse the verification so easily got by going through the nearest stock. Their effect on children is not so susceptible of immediate proof, but when children are found hanging and near their bodies are comic books with detailed pictures of nooses and strangled victims, when boys murder others in ways identical with those described in comic books they have been recently reading, when association and other tests reveal fantasies and daydreams corresponding to the scenes of violence and torture of favorite comics, then Dr. Wertham must be admitted to have the weight of at least circumstantial evidence on his side.

To Jimmie Walker is attributed the wisecrack that he never heard of a girl seduced by a book. "Fanny Hill" or "Only a Boy" deflowered no virgins; seduction requires cooperation between two members of opposite sexes. But the narcistic pleasures of the comic books are achievable—indeed, they are only enjoyable—without concurrence, by the violent imposition of sadistic will upon a victim. Pornography deals for the most part with mutual enjoyment—even the characters in Sacher-Masoch's novels voluntarily submitted to erotic torments; comic books depict pleasures snatched by force and only by force from a terrified, struggling victim. The reader needs no willing partner, only a switch-blade knife or air gun—temptingly advertised in assorted designs in the comic books—for his gratifications. Less, if he contents himself with the non-mechanical means of assault, murder, or mayhem pictured so meticulously.

It is on the author's suggestions of what is to be done that many who have gone along with him so far will part

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WARD MOORE, literary editor of Frontier, *is the author of several novels, the latest of which is "Bring the Jubilee." As a parent he has long cast a dubious eye on comic books; as a libertarian he is opposed to censorship in any form.*

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company. Hitherto we have been dealing with diagnosis, based on direct evidence or on exoteric deduction; prescription and medication are matters of opinion, and we want to be easy in our minds that the remedy is not as malignant as the disease.

Dr. Wertham proposes prohibiting the sale or display of crime comics to those under fifteen. To the opposition of the American Civil Liberties Union to such "regulation"—for Dr. Wertham insists this is not censorship—he snaps, "Nowadays the intellectuals are just as anxious to guard the freedom of children to read crime comics" as in his opinion they were to defend juvenile freedom to work twelve hours a day at the age of five in mine and factory a hundred and fifty years ago. He protests that freedom of speech or expression is not involved; that to invoke either "draws people's attention away from the real issue and veils the business in an idealistic haze."

But free speech is not only for those whose motives are obviously pure or whose sentiments are innocuous. Freedom is as dangerous as it is desirable; the only speech which is free is that which is allowed to the despicable as well as to the upright. Comstockery begins by cleansing the mails of "lewd" postcards and goes on to suppress Joyce and Dreiser and Edmund Wilson. To insist, as Dr. Wertham does, that his proposed "regulation" has no carry-over, that it poses no threat to any other form of expression, is to ignore all our experience. We begin by forbidding the sale of crime comics to those under fifteen. By the author's own definition, war comics, "classic," Western, and many other types are really crime comics. Even before the "regulation" is in effect we are dealing with a flexible category, easily stretched to take in other ages and bordering media. Indeed, Dr. Wertham's lashing out at "some pocket-size books [which] express nothing but the pornography of violence, which derives from crime comics directly or indirectly" indicates that regulators are unlikely to stop precisely at drawings with ballooned dialogue—especially since "some of the worst are to be found in places where juveniles buy candy and sodas." If Mickey Spillane is to be "regulated," why not Hammett; if Hammett, why not Poe? To talk, as Dr. Wertham does, of "art" or "literature" is to ask what police-court judge is going to decide just what literature is. You and I and Dr. Wertham will okay "Murders in the Rue Morgue" and give the back of our hands to Mr. Spillane, but will the bureaucrats who barred "Ulysses" for years be so discriminating?

No matter how menacing comic books are, censorship—even disguised as regulation—is more menacing still. Further, it is an invocation of government in fields where it can do only harm. But is the individual competent to deal with the comic book? Perhaps not on the I-forbid-you-to-bring-this-trash-into-the-house level. But social gains—and Dr. Wertham agrees that comic books are merely a symptom of an unhealthy society—are not made only through government action or single-handed defiance.

If secondary boycotts were not illegal under the Taft-Hartley Act, one might suggest that such a boycott against all places where comic books are sold—these outlets are stores dependent primarily on adult trade—would be quickly effective. Certainly it would be more logical and less destructive to freedom than the action by the American Legion curtailing the audience for the last Chaplin picture. Whatever the solution—if a solution is attainable—the first step is for parents and psychiatrists to discover the comic books. They can do this by reading "Seduction of the Innocent" or, if they have strong stomachs, by reading the comic books themselves.

New Books in Brief

The Spirit of India

THIS IS INDIA. By Santha Rama Rau. Harper. $2.50.

Miss Rau is uniquely qualified to act as an interpreter of India to the West. Born in Madras of a family that has given India a number of distinguished public servants, educated in England and the United States, married to an American, she combines devotion to her native land with an understanding of the Anglo-Saxon mentality and a cosmopolitan outlook. In addition, she is a first-class reporter who writes with lucidity and charm.

Her new book, reprinted from *Holiday*, is a guide for tourists but a guide

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to the spirit of India rather than to its "sights." It seeks, in the first place, to dispel some of the common misconceptions which, whether they "romanticize, patronize, or disparage India . . . are a great nuisance to the foreign traveler . . . and a barrier to his understanding of the country." Since "it is a dreary thing," writes Miss Rau, "to travel without making friends," the tourist who wants to know Indians must bring with him "a reasonably open mind and a great deal of tact." Thus equipped, he should not find it too difficult to break through the barriers "of touchiness and pride" which are in part "a colonial hangover." For those who succeed and enjoy the experience of Indian hospitality Miss Rau provides some useful hints on etiquette.

As already indicated, this little book is in no sense a Baedeker, but it does describe briefly a few samples of India's many and varied attractions. There is a chapter on the Malabar Coast, well off the beaten track in the extreme southwest, the home of *kathakali,* a form of dance-drama of which Miss Rau gives a vivid account. Other chapters deal with Madras, northern India, the deserted cities and the modern cities, and the great festivals in which India's "sense of pageantry" finds expression. Interwoven are notes on Hindu temples and Moslem mosques, on the decorative arts, and on the picturesque but anachronistic and dying world of the maharajahs.

All in all, this book, the value of which is enhanced by some excellent photographs, is a "must" for anyone contemplating a visit to India. Less fortunate readers will find pleasure in its evocation of a fascinating civilization.

Shaw as "Required Reading"

MEN AND SUPERMEN. By Arthur H. Nethercot. Harvard. $5.

Contemplating the fate of Shakespeare, Bernard Shaw professed the fervent hope that he would never fall into the hands of either "the professors" or their students. Now of course he is that dreadful thing "required reading," and the present is one of the first definitely academic books about him. With intelligent but remorseless thoroughness Professor Nethercot attempts to systematize Shaw's ideas and asks formal questions about both his status as an artist and the pigeonhole in which he should be placed. The ultimate judgment is favorable enough. Shaw is one of the few English playwrights of his generation likely to be remembered by the general public. His professed intention to use laughter and satire "as reformatory instruments" is in respectable tradition; his use of quasi-allegorical proper names links him with the "comedy of humors," etc., etc. If Shaw himself would not be wholly pleased, that is because the methods of the scholar inevitably tend to reduce any writer to the condition of a stuffed specimen for classroom study. Shaw wanted to be loved, feared, hated, and admired, not merely accepted. He wanted above all to convince people that he was right. All he is likely to get from "the professors" is due recognition of his "place in English literature."

De Mortuis

STORIES ON STONES. By Charles L. Wallis. Oxford. $5.

Dead men tell no tales, but as related in this handsomely printed book their next of kin are often more outspoken. Many of the epitaphs of persons who died through violent accidents or foul play are explicit as to the details of the accidents, the names of the murderers, and the methods by which they did in their victims. That sinners repent on their deathbeds is refuted by the defiant epitaphs of atheists. Deep-seated resentments, personal, political, and particularly against doctors, are recorded for posterity. The monument of one family proclaims that "none of us ever voted for Roosevelt or Truman." On another the wife of the deceased wants it permanently known that "the means Employed his life to save Hurried him Headlong to the Grave." That a judicial trait must have run through Chief Justice Marshall's family is attested to by the last lines on his mother's tombstone: "she was good but not brilliant, Useful but not great." Peculiar or humorous epitaphs do not, however, predominate. This collection reveals for the most part a good deal of illiteracy and a surprising lack of imaginative or ennobling sentiment. Interspersed among the inscriptions are short paragraphs giving bits of historical background and pertinent information about many of them. Written in less pedestrian style, this text could have relieved the monotony and pointed up the interest of the over 750 epitaphs listed.

Art

S. Lane Faison, Jr.,

IT WOULD be difficult to imagine two painters with less in common than Edouard Vuillard (1868-1940) and the very contemporary Adolf Gottlieb. Retrospective exhibitions of both artists are currently available—the first at the Museum of Modern Art, through June 6, the second, selected for Bennington and Williams colleges by Clement Greenberg, at Williamstown, May 7 to 23. The Vuillard show, which may be considered definitive, came to New York from Cleveland. The Gottlieb show, which includes nineteen canvases from 1942 through 1952, was at Bennington from April 18 to May 5. As the first retrospective of the work of this established artist it merits critical attention. Comment about Gottlieb's very recent paintings, which were on view during April at the Kootz Gallery, may properly be included.

Vuillard, the poet of intimate interiors in a minor key, occasionally turned muralist and signally failed. Gottlieb is, I think, essentially a mural painter, whatever the size in which he happens to work. When he essays more intimate effects, the result does not compensate in subtlety for what it loses in force. As with Gauguin, his best work is either very large or conveys the feeling that it would like to be. I have stressed the mural impact of Gottlieb's art several times in this column and can only reiterate the hope that architects will provide for him the necessary opportunities. As if in answer to some future challenge and limited only by the sixteen-foot length of his studio, Gottlieb painted

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this year the very powerful Labyrinth which was the central attraction of the recent show at the Kootz Gallery. Some of the smaller pictures exhibited there, for example Armature, would have been more interesting as fragments of a composition as large as Labyrinth, or the twelve-by-seven-foot mural Black, White, and Pink, than they were as isolated works of art. When the scale was reduced along with the size, as in The Cadmium Sound, the effect suffered noticeably, and the same result can be seen in the 1952 "landscapes" in the retrospective. Compare the small Forest, with its white lines thinly inscribed in a rather muddy field, with Sea and Tide, with its bold play of large red and black spots on an oyster-white ground above a horizontal base strongly modulated in grays and blacks.

Putting the two Gottlieb shows together, we may observe that the earliest painting, Pictographic Symbol (1942), announces the bold subdivisions, the strong value contrasts, the forceful use of the dark edge, and the restrained gamut of color that emerges so triumphantly in the yellow-oranges, the blacks, and the whites of Labyrinth. The latest work, however, is much freer. Something of Pollock's calligraphy is incorporated without loss of structure, and something of Pollock's and DeKooning's deep space. If I am not greatly mistaken, Labyrinth will take its place as the Léger City of the 1950's. We are led not so much through the fragments of metropolis as through the mind of the modern city-dweller. I do not object to Gottlieb's occasional reference to sound in his titles, for the roar of traffic and of industry is in Labyrinth and in Unstill Life (1952), the finest of the moderate-sized pictures.

In his earlier work the best examples strike a note of dark resonance. Recurrent Apparition (1946) plays deep oranges and mustards against a nearly black field; Equinoctial Rite orchestrates pinks, mustards, and blues against a similar ground. I am not strong for the directness of Gottlieb's symbols, framed as they are within the strongly marked subdivisions. I do not think their power depends on pictographic communication; in fact, I have reason to believe that these fish, these leering eyes, and these vaguely erotic faces are symbols mainly in the sense that they have been symbols in various primitive arts. This is a borrowed rather than an invented content. I do not think, for example, that it adds much to the meaning of one of the late states of Rembrandt's large etching, The Three Crosses, to discover that one of the riders is a fifteenth-century figure out of Pisanello. It merely adds a touch of exoticism to Rembrandt's unearthly melancholy. The value lies not in the symbol, so to speak, but in its transmutation, and in Gottlieb that is achieved through color and through as nice an adjustment of patterned shapes as in the best of Matisse.

In retrospect, Gottlieb's art seems to oscillate between two extremes—the absolute black-on-buff pattern of Plus and the amorphous and messy swirls of Chromatic Game. Both these paintings date from 1951, and I do not like either of them. The finer works achieve greater complexity than the first and greater clarity than the second. What is particularly impressive, however, is the way in which Labyrinth encompasses all that has gone before. Some day, when it can be seen in another and larger retrospective, it will, I think, emerge as a major synthesis in Gottlieb's work. The sequence of pictures in Williamstown leads up to it, and without it one's expectations of an evolving career are not adequately fulfilled.

The Vuillard show will need no successor to tell its subject's story. His was a small if very refined talent. He painted one kind of picture well and painted it best between about 1893 and a little short of 1900. In the catalogue Mr. Ritchie bravely attempts to claim more for him, but I cannot escape the feeling that any increase in Vuillard's reputation will come from his graphic work, of which a fair sample is also included.

Theater

Harold Clurman

ONE need not go as far as George Brandes, but one knows what he meant when he wrote, "If a book isn't worth reading twice, it isn't worth reading at all." With music and with painting one has been made well aware that first hearing and first view are rarely sufficient for a correct, not to speak of a definitive, impression. I am foolhardy enough to suggest at a time when many educated people do not go to the theater at all that we begin to see the better plays more than once.

We may well repeat a visit to a play which we had difficulty in appreciating at the first go. Within recent memory some of the reviewers have gone a second time to Rodgers and Hart's "Pal Joey," Maxwell Anderson's "Winterset," "Philip Barry's "Here Come the Clowns," and might or should have done so with many other plays—for example, Odets's "Paradise Lost," Brecht's "Galileo," Hellman's "The Autumn Garden," Tennessee Williams's "Camino Real." One can enjoy several looks at even so very simple a play as Saroyan's "My Heart's in the Highlands." The pleasure to be had from seeing a play for the second—or third, or fourth, or fifth—time is not that of reversing oneself. It is the pleasure of seeing the play in a steady perspective.

This season I went to see "Wonderful Town" again because some of my friends thought I had "overestimated" it—I should worry!—and because Carol Channing had replaced Rosalind Russell. I also saw "The Seven Year Itch" again —no "problem" there—because a newcomer, Irene Moore, played Vanessa Brown's part for four performances; and I looked in on "Picnic" once more because Betty Lou Holland had replaced Kim Stanley. And just as four years ago I paid to see a production of "Caesar and Cleopatra" for the second time because my published remarks on it had been deemed impertinently high-handed, so I have just revisited "The Teahouse of the August Moon" because I had seen it at the final New York dress rehearsal —a preview—which happened to be technically rough.

On seeing "Teahouse" again, I reread my review of it (October 31, 1953) to determine whether I felt differently about it now. I had said " 'The Teahouse

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of the August Moon' is a hit because it is entirely pleasant, benign, and sweet." Also "it is good-natured, liberal, and constantly indulgent." And further, "There is something almost traditionally American, or rather American theater, about 'The Teahouse.'" Finally, "It is candy concocted with some originality, and easy to take."

I have not changed my mind. What may have sounded sour in the first instance was my further comments, which dealt with the hysterically rapturous enthusiasm that almost every pleasantly successful occasion provokes at a Broadway opening—generally reserved for agreeable plays which are conventional at their core and novel on their surface. (About this, I said, "What I like most about the show is that it has a fresh or at least a different look.") My review in a sense represented a reaction to a reaction.

Many differences of opinion in the theater are not so much that as differences of vocabulary. When I worked in Hollywood, I was asked to comment on the test of a young actress who was being considered for a term contract. "The young lady has a provocative personality," I noted, "in addition to some acting ability. She should prove very useful in secondary roles. I recommend signing her." The executive producer was outraged at my report. "I think she's *great*," he snapped. "We mean the same thing," I answered.

The performance of "The Teahouse" is still in very good shape. What has improved—and increased my enjoyment of it—is the audience. (Preview audiences are notoriously unresponsive both because they are too homogeneous to be representative and because they have not read the notices and are thus loth to have anything but the most cautious opinion.) David Wayne is expert, as we knew from "Mr. Roberts," and very charming, as we had occasion to learn from "Finian's Rainbow." Robert Lewis's direction is thoroughly stagewise.

How could the play be anything but the smash it is? It has jokes about the stupidity of the army brass, about the G. I.'s taste for liquor, about our general thick-headedness. (The colonel suspects his captain of making a fortune from the labor of the native Okinawans in his charge. No, the captain explains, the money has been laid aside for them to share and share alike. "That's communism," the colonel roars.) The play voices wholesome sentiments. It pokes (self-congratulatory) fun at our complacency. "I'll teach the natives American democracy," the colonel explains, "if I have to shoot every one of them to do it." A distinction is made between the "democracy" of teaching Okinawans to sing "God Bless America" in English and the democracy of fellow-feeling.

It *is* excellent candy. That's fine. But our diet needs to be extended. And I shall always believe it my function to be more severe with the "sure things" than with those plays which falter a little on a more hazardous path.

Records

B. H. Haggin

THE Little Orchestra Society has placed the New York public in its debt by performing Berlioz's "L'Enfance du Christ"; Columbia now places the American public in its debt by issuing a recording of the performance. The recording has enabled me to confirm my impression that much of Part 1 is in a mellifluous nineteenth-century oratorio style, but that one begins to hear the Berlioz mind in fascinating operation in the overture of Part 2 and the music it introduces, the lovely Shepherds' Farewell to the Holy Family and the wonderfully beautiful Repose of the Holy Family; and that there are moving and beautiful passages also in Part 3: the opening description of the journey, Joseph's appeals for refuge, the trio for flutes and harp, the concluding vocal passage. But the recording also has made noticeable certain faults in the performance that escaped notice in Carnegie Hall: in Part 2 one hears beautiful playing by the orchestra and ear-ravishing singing by Leopold Simoneau and by William Jonson's Choral Art Society; but one hears also a lot of fussing with

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tempo and sonority and inflection of phrase, and in the Shepherds' Farewell excessive crescendos from an initial sonority greater than the *p* of the score. In Parts 1 and 3 Donald Gramm's singing is excellent, Martial Singher's voice quavers less than it did in Carnegie Hall, but Mary Davenport's voice is again not agreeable to the ear. The recorded sound is very good; but one hears—particularly around Simoneau's singing—an excessive resonance in Columbia's 30th Street studio that may be partly responsible for the excessive loudness of the Shepherds' Farewell.

What I heard on the first side of the Epic record with Orazio Benevoli's Festival Mass for the consecration of the Salzburg Cathedral in 1628 didn't encourage me to listen further. And the same for Delius's "A Mass of Life," issued by Columbia. The performances are good.

Lukas Foss's "A Parable of Death" is all on one side of a Columbia record; but in the twenty-five minutes of manipulation of orchestra, chorus, tenor soloist, and narrator I heard not one phrase of music that had any interest in itself or in relation to the narrative. The work is one of those commissioned in recent years by the Louisville Orchestra, which performs it well with assisting artists under Robert Whitney's direction; and the somewhat more engaging Intermezzo of Martinu and "Kentuckiana" of Milhaud are on the same record.

Listening to Britten's "A Ceremony of Carols," sung under his direction by the Copenhagen Boys' Choir (London), I find again that some of his arrangements are effective and beautiful, but some—e.g.," In Freezing Winter Night" —too elaborate and clever. The singing is a delight.

The second group of records in Columbia's Modern American Music Series offers Henry Cowell's Sonata No. 1 for violin and piano (1945) and Harold Shapero's Sonata for piano four hands (1941); Roy Harris's Sonata for violin and piano (1941) and Robert Palmer's Quartet for piano and strings (1945-7); Leon Kirchner's Quartet No. 1 (1949) and Irving Fine's Quartet (1952); Peter Mennin's Quartet No. 2 (1952) and Andrew Imbrie's Quartet in B-flat (1942); Paul Bowles's "Music for a Farce" (1938) and "Scènes d'Anabase" (1932) and Norman dello Joio's Variations and Capriccio for violin and piano; Arthur Berger's Quartet in C for woodwinds (1941) and Duo for cello and piano (1951) and Edward B. Hill's Sextet for piano and winds Op. 39.

In the pieces by Shapero, Palmer, and Mennin I hear the ability to fill out time with sounds, if only by keeping a rhythmic figure going the required number of minutes; the two of this type by Kirchner and Fine are more elaborate and varied in substance and procedure, but communicate no musical meaning to me; and in the Imbrie piece the elaborate operation that goes through the movements of communication, but as though in some inaccessible foreign language, is very impressive. The Cowell piece, concerned with old British-American religious ballads, ambles along pleasantly; the Bowles "Music for a Farce" is diverting, his other piece rather inconsequential for an homage to St.-John Perse; Berger's Quintet is a diverting play with wind sonorities and rhythmic ostinatos, his Duo a gigantesque play with piano and cello in the first movement and with rhythm in the second that is less engaging and interesting. The first three movements of the Harris piece present a Harris almost unrecognizably prettified, the last a Harris more characteristically unattractive; dello Joio's theme and some of the variations are also more engaging than usual; the Hill piece is an evocation of facile French writing of fifty years ago.

Things you can skip are the Spa record "American Life" with pieces by Alex North, Eli Siegmeister, Frenderick Jacobi, George Antheil, and Henry Cowell, played by the Vienna Philharmonia Orchestra under F. Charles Adler; and the MGM record with some of Lord Berners's piano music and Constant Lambert's Concerto for piano and nine players, performed by Menahem Pressler and a small group under Theodore Blumenfeld.

Columbia has issued on LP the superb performance of Alban Berg's Violin Concerto that Louis Krasner recorded with the Cleveland Orchestra under Rodzinski years ago; and with it Krasner's impressive performance of Schönberg's even less comprehensible (to me) Violin Concerto with the New York Philharmonic under Mitropoulos.

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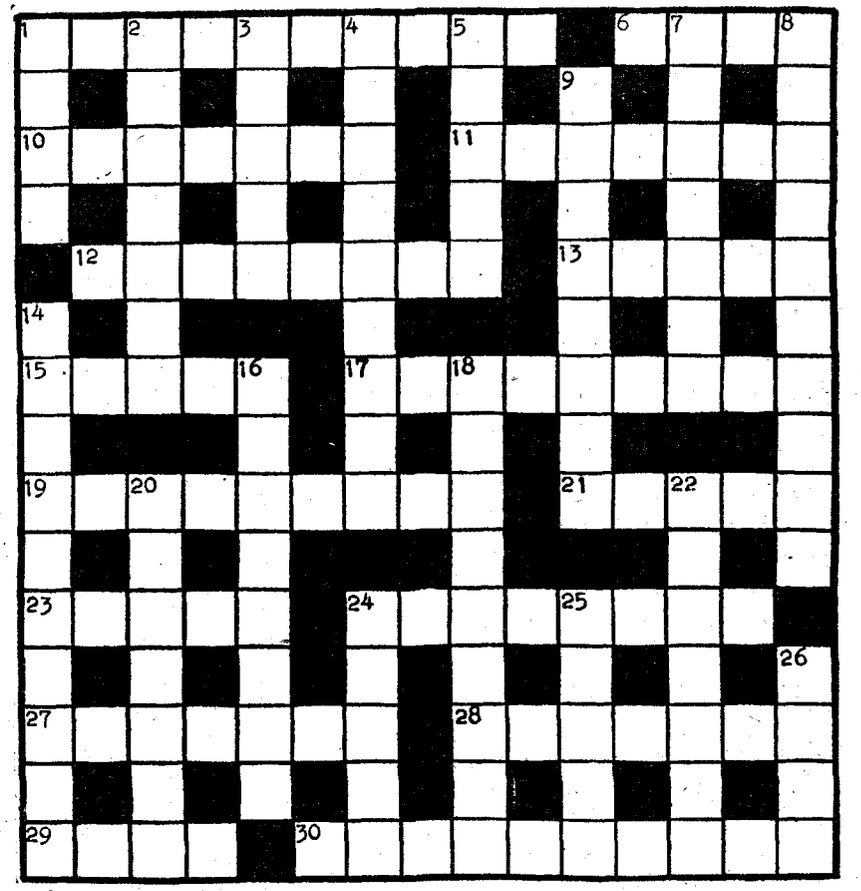

ACROSS

1 See 12 across.
6 A couple gets caught off guard, in turn. (4)
10 Changing "and/or" to this might imply an outburst. (7)
11 Receive a portion in their distribution. (7)
12, 18 down, 24 down, 16 down, 26 down, 29 across, 9 down, 8 down, 1 across. Evidently they're not industrial plants. (8, 3, 6, 2, 3, 5, 3, 4, 4, 4, 4, 3, 7, 2, 4, 4)
13 They say England produced this musician, but actually he was Belgian. (5)
15 and 1 down. Lost your partner—being old-fashioned? (3, 2, 4)
17 Without it, 27 gets green. (9)
19 Is this supposed to go to pot? Quite the reverse! (9)
21 Let go. (5)
23 Is the pit taken out of it? On the contrary! (5)
24 Indicated by the sort of trace that sounds weighty. (8)
27 Noted part of the service at first. (7)
28 Rail. (7)
29 See 12 across.
30 Individual supporter? (10)

DOWN

1 See 15 across.
2 Go-to-meeting getup? (7)
3 Shakespeare's pedantic Sir Hugh. (5)
4 First down might be harder to make in one! (9)
5 Freezing, only more so. (5)
7 Equal receipts for what the consumer might do? (7)
8 and 9. See 12 across.
14 Viewing with disdain. (10)
16 and 18. See 12 across.
20 Not a tan tree, but its seeds are colorful. (7)
22 A party which isn't friendly? (7)
24 See 12 across.
25 Partake in this puzzle of a number. (5)
26 See 12 across.

SOLUTION TO PUZZLE No. 566

ACROSS:—1 LANDING GEAR; 9 CARDIGAN; 11 ACADEMY; 12 ADENOID; 14 and 15 ALL IN A DAY'S WORK; 17 BASEBALL; 20 SKEINS; 24 and 22 REVENGE IS SWEET; 26 TRIVET; 27 GIGANTIC; 28 PROCREATION.

DOWN:—2 ADDED LINE; 3 DIGAMMA; 4 and 10 NINE OLD MEN; 5 GOOD DAY; 6 AUDEN; 7 MARCEL; 8 DENIER; 13 ADULT; 16 WHEREINTO; 18 ASSURE; 19 ASEPTIC; 20 SLEIGHT; 21 NAGUIB; 23 WAVER; 25 OGLE.

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